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TAEDIUM VITAE IN ROMAN SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS

THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

CLARA LOUISE THOMPSON, A.B., M.A.

SAINT LOUIS
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PREFACE.

In searching for indications of *taedium vitae* in Roman sepulchral inscriptions I have read volumes I and VI of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum and the verse collections of Cholodniak, *Carmina sepulcralia latina* and of Beucheler, *Carmina epigraphica latina,* and based my study mainly upon them, excluding however Christian epitaphs except occasionally for the purpose of comparison. I have kept the readings of the CIL in all cases without the use of *"sic"* to indicate non-classical spellings and errors; words or letters supplied are printed in italics; the division of lines of the CIL has been kept except in some poetical inscriptions, in which division has been made by verses and the arrangement of the stone marked by vertical lines. Oblique lines mark a breakage and loss of letters. References without citation of the work are to the CIL.

Citations of parallels in Latin literature have purposely been made very few, as that is quite another field, and only a few Greek epigrams have been cited for comparison.

In addition to the CIL and the two collections already mentioned, the following books and articles have been used or referred to:

Bruno Lier, *Topica carminum sepulcralium latinorum,* Philologus 1903, 445 ff.; 563 ff.; 1904, 54 ff.

G. W. van Bleek, *Quae de hominum post mortem condicione doceant carmina sepulcralia latina.*

James E. Church, Jr., *Beiträge zur Sprache der Lateinischen Grabinschriften.*

A. G. Harkness, *Scepticism and Fatalism among the Common People of Rome,* TAPA XXX, 56 ff.

ABBREVIATIONS.

CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
B = Buecheler (*Carm. ep. lat.*).
Ch = Cholodniak (*Carm. sep. lat.*).
AP = Anthologia Palatina.
TAPA = Transactions of the American Philological Association.

TAEDIUM VITAE IN ROMAN SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION: Use of phrase *taedium vitae;* evidence of increase of *taedium vitae* towards the end of the Republican period and later, literature, suicide; inscriptional evidence more abundant among lower and middle classes; influence of education and the use of formulae upon expression in inscriptions. The normal attitude of the Romans towards death; willingness to die not necessarily *taedium vitae.*

CHAPTER I: *Taedium vitae* due to bereavement: sometimes merely a passing feeling, not a settled attitude; a desire for reunion or to avoid separation; wish for exchange with dead; better not to have children than to lose them.

CHAPTER II: Death as rest: the *quiesco* formula; death as eternal sleep; as the coming of night; as a goal; the tomb as one's native land; as a haven; as the eternal home; as an inn.

CHAPTER III: Death as a release: from labor; from care; from pain and trouble; from fear; from envy; from desire and passion; from the power of chance and fortune; from bondage; from old age. General pessimistic attitude towards life.

INTRODUCTION.

The Normal View-Point.

The phrase *taedium vitae* is taken from Aulus Gellius VI (VII) 18. 11, Cornelius autem Nepos in libro exemplorum quinto id quoque litteris mandavit, multis in senatu placuisse ut hi qui redire nollent datis custodibus ad Hannibalem deducerentur, sed eam sententiam numero plurium quibus id non videretur superatam; eos tamen qui ad Hannibalem non redissent usque adeo intestabiles invisosque fuisse ut *taedium vitae* ceperint necemque sibi consciverint. Using the verb instead of the noun, Cicero writes, *ad Att.* V 16. 2, of the conditions in the province of Asia to which he had just come, audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata ἐπικεφάλαια solvere non posse, ὠνὰς omnium venditas, civitatum gemitus ploratus monstra quaedam non hominis sed ferae nescio cuius immanis. quid quaeris? *taedet* omnino eos *vitae*. So Verg. *Aen.* IV 450 f.:

> tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
> mortem orat; *taedet* caeli convexa tueri.

In the later years of the Republic signs begin to appear of a growing discontent and restlessness among the Romans, a consciousness of existence, *taedium vitae,* that manifests itself in various ways. Compare, among other passages:

Lucr. III 79–81.

> et saepe usque adeo, mortis formidine, vitae
> percipit humanos odium lucisque videndae,
> ut sibi consciscant maerenti pectore letum.

Lucr. III 1045–1078.

> 'tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire?
> mortua cui vita est prope iam vivo atque videnti,
> qui somno partem maiorem conteris aevi
> et vigilans stertis nec somnia cernere cessas
> sollicitamque geris cassa formidine mentem

1050 nec reperire potes tibi quid sit saepe mali, cum
ebrius urgeris multis miser undique curis
atque animi incerto fluitans errore vagaris.'
si possent homines, proinde ac sentire videntur
pondus inesse animo quod se gravitate fatiget,
1055 e quibus id fiat causis quoque noscere et unde
tanta mali tanquam moles in pectore constet,
haut ita vitam agerent ut nunc plerumque videmus
quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quaerere semper
commutare locum quasi onus deponere possit.
1060 exit saepe foras magnis ex aedibus ille,
esse domi quem pertaesumst, subitoque revertit,
quippe foris nilo melius qui sentiat esse.
currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter,
auxilium tectis quasi ferre ardentibus instans;
1065 oscitat extemplo, tetigit cum limina villae
aut abit in somnum gravis atque oblivia quaerit,
aut etiam properans urbem petit atque revisit.
hoc se quisque modo fugit (at, quem sclicet, ut fit,
effugere haut potis est; ingratis haeret) et odit
1070 propterea, morbi quia causam non tenet aeger;
quam bene si videat, iam rebus quisque relictis
naturam primum studeat cognoscere rerum,
temporis aeterni quoniam, non unius horae,
ambigitur status, in quo sit mortalibus omnis
1075 aetas, post mortem quae restat cumque, manenda.
denique tanto opere in dubiis trepidare periclis
quae mala nos subigit vitae tanta cupido?

Vergil *Aen.* VI 719–721.

'o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandumst
sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti
corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?'

The restlessness, social disorder and immorality, the extravagance and striving for new sensations recorded by the satirists and by the historians of the first century after Christ seem to indicate a widespread temperamental disturbance, of which perhaps *taedium vitae* is one of the natural forms of expression.

The prevalence of suicide during this period is significant. It pervaded all classes; the pages of Cassius Dio, Tacitus, Seneca, and the younger Pliny abound in accounts of self-destruction. The Stoics not merely sanctioned but advised it

as a refuge from tyranny or incurable disease, and even maintained the right of a man to end his life when it no longer pleased him to live. "The door is open," said Epictetus,[1] and Marcus Aurelius,[2] "The house is smoky and I leave it." A case in point is that of Cocceius Nerva, a man high in the favor of Tiberius, who starved himself at a time when his life seemed most enviable.[3]

The most interesting evidences of *taedium vitae* in Roman sepulchral inscriptions are to be found in those of the middle and lower classes, sometimes also in those of provincials, since the expression of emotion by them is more unrestrained than among the upper classes in Rome. Among the latter education tended to develop good taste and self-control, and their inscriptions are characterized as a rule by rigid formality and dignity. One circumstance, however, modifies this difference. Though uneducated persons are usually more willing to express their feelings, their very lack of education often hampers them in doing so and leads them to adopt the work of others, either entire or with such modifications as may seem necessary to fit the individual case;[4] moreover, the instinct for doing things properly, that is, in the way in which others did them, was not confined to any one class, and produced many stereotyped expressions and formulae[5] in Latin epitaphs.

Before taking up *taedium vitae* as it appears in the inscriptions it seems worth while for the sake of contrast to consider briefly the epigraphical evidence for the normal attitude of the ancient Roman toward death. Life was the dearest of possessions to the generality of Romans,[6] length of days a boon much to be desired, death a dreadful fate that overtook them all too soon at best. *Mors prematura, immatura, acerba,* is their continual cry,[7] not only because so many died in childhood, but because any death before the attainment of a ripe old age was to them untimely. A long life seemed a most

[1] I 24. 20; I 25. 18; II 1. 19.

[2] V 29.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* VI 26; Cassius Dio LVIII 21.

[4] Examples of such borrowings and adaptations are the group of inscriptions on the merchant's life (v. p. 34 f.); on the burial of children by their parents (v. p. 18, note.); *cum qua vixi sine querella* (VI 28785, VI 11781, VI 12435, abbreviated *quer.*), varied by *rixa, contumelia,* (VI 15488) *iracundia, castigatione* (VI 2682), *animi laesione* (XIII 2205, after 36 years); 'who never caused me any grief except by his death' (V 4113).

[5] For example, terms of affection; *bene merenti; sit tibi terra levis; hic iacet.*

[6] XII 5272. 5 dum sis in vita dolor est | ammittere vitam.

[7] The proportion of sepulchral inscriptions containing these words is almost one to five according to Lier, Philologus LXII, 453.

fitting reward for virtuous character; on the stones one finds such expressions as these:

VIII 11594.

4 non digne Felix
citto vitam caruisti
miselle vivere debu-
eras annis fere C li-
cebat.

VIII 403.

6 non digna coniunx cito vita *exire de-*
crevisti misella. vivere debue-
ras annis fere centu licebat.

VI 19055.

9 digna quidem frui perpetua de luce benigna.

II 1413.

6 vigenti tecum nam fers non amplius annos,
sed decuit talem longior hora virum.

In the extravagance of her grief and affection a woman addresses her dead husband as follows:

II 1414. LXX tecum transfers non
amplius annos; debueras tamen
habuisse mille.

A strange expression appears in
X 2598.

4 possidet non merita
locus hic cito corpus
iniquum quae talem vi-
tam meruit ut curva sene-
ctus; noluerunt superi.

Often the *viator* who stops in passing to read the inscription upon a tomb receives a grateful blessing for his sympathy; sometimes long life is the wish expressed;

II 59.

8 vivas pluribus et diu *se* | nescas,
qua mi*hi* no*n l* | icu*it*, fruare vita.

The cruelty and bitterness of death, its loneliness,[8] darkness, oblivion, and unloveliness find expression at great length in the inscriptions. Mors is *inimica*,[9] *iniqua*,[10] *saeva*,[11] *atra*,[12] a *saeva rapina*,[13] *trux funus*.[14] The day of death is *atra*,[15] *perfidus infelix horrificus*,[16] *iniqua*,[17] *scelerata*;[18] the *fata* that decree it and bring it to pass are *dura, invida*,[19] *atra, crudelia*,[20] *iniqua*,[21] *iniquissima*,[22] *mala*,[23] *tristia*,[24] *infelicia, contraria*,[25] *miserabile* (*fatum*).[26]

The end of the pleasures and pursuits of life is mourned on many stones; to this class belong the *vivite bibite*[27] type, of which good poetical examples are found in

VI 30103.

adeste amici fruamur tempus bonum;
epulemur laeti vita dum parva manet.

[8] Perhaps it is the loneliness of death that finds pathetic expression in the two following inscriptions:

V 7404.

4 . . . sit licet inferne noctis tristissimus
horror, me tamen vestre credo iacere domo.

XI 911.

11 . . . sit licet infernae noc-
tis tristissimus horror me tamen il-
lius credo iacere toris.

[9] VI 29629; B 986; B 1491.
[10] VI 29011.
[11] IX 3280.
[12] B 1339.
[13] VI 24520 (?)
[14] VI 20128.

atrox o Fortuna truci quae funere gaudes,
quid mihi tam subito Maximus eripitur.

[15] VI 28877, VI 30113, X 4728; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI 429, abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.
Also Christian, B 682. 7, B 732. 4, B 1385. 12.
[16] X 2483. The masculine gender in this example is exceptional.
[17] VI 30110. 4.
[18] VI 27383. 12.
[19] IV 5012. 7.
[20] VI 25703.
[21] VI 9241, VI 23629.
[22] VI 15077.
[23] III 11281. 8.
[24] VI 33395.
[25] B 434. 10.
[26] VI 12013.
[27] Perhaps the similarity of sound when *v* and *b* were approximating each other in pronunciation, assured the popularity of such a juxtaposition of the two words by appealing to the Romans' love of word-play; for example XI 2547a quoted in the text.

Baccho madentes hilaris sit concordia.
eadem fecerunt hi cuncti cum viverent,
5 dederunt acceperunt dum essent fruniti sunt;
et nos antiquorum imitemur tempora;
vive dum vivis nec quidquam degeneravis
anime indulgere quem commodavit deus.

XI 2547a.

dum vibes
homo vibe,
nam post
mortem ni-
hil est; om-
nia rema-
nent et hoc
est homo
quod vi-
des.

VI 18131.

3 . . . quod edi
bibi mecum habeo,
quod reliqui
perdidi;
v. a. LXXX.

A dead boy is represented as saying,

VI 16169.

6 . . . io-
ceris, ludas, hortor; hec
summa est severitas.

Other similar expressions occur:

IX 3473.

17 . . . i-
*t*a tu qui legis bona
vita vive sodalis.
quare? post obitum
*n*ec risus nec lusus
*n*ec ulla voluptas
erit. have.

II 2262.

5 tu qui stas et le-
ges titulum me-

um lude iocare
veni.

II 1877.

5 es bibe lude
veni.

VI 17985a.

12 amici qui legitis moneo miscete Lyaeum
et potate procul redimite tempora flore,
et venereos coitus formosis ne denegate puellis;
cetera post obitum terra consumit et ignis.

This sentiment finds its most beautiful expression in the tender and pathetic passage of Lucretius[28] containing the lament

'iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor
optima nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent.
non poteris factis florentibus esse, tuisque
praesidium. misero misere' aiunt 'omnia ademit
una dies infesta tibi tot praemia vitae.'

Under certain exceptional conditions willingness to die does not indicate any real departure from this normal point of view, as when, for example, a man meets death with eagerness on the field of battle,[29] or casts himself into the abyss to preserve the state. The feeling, however, that it is a happy thing not to suffer bereavement and so to die before the other members of one's family, seems to be directly connected with the kind of *taedium vitae* expressed by persons in deep grief for the loss of one dear to them.[30] There are many examples which may serve to bring out the significance of this phase of thought and its connection with *taedium vitae*. Survival by one's family, a peaceful death, and the rites of burial from those who have been closest in life, seem to come as a fitting conclusion to a worthy, happy and reasonably long life. Ex-

[28] III 894–899.

[29] A less heroic manifestation of desire for a glorious death is found in the epitaph of a circus-driver,

VIII 16566.

9 metae quod fuit optabile mori
sum cornuo labsus
sicut fuit in voto, peri.

[30] See chapter I. below.

pressed with the brevity and lack of detail characteristic of republican inscriptions is

I 1071.

5 heis sunt duo
concordes
famaque bona
exituq. hones
felixs.

Later instances are not few:

VI 17540.

6 qui vixit
bene et
consum-
mavit bene.

VI 19270.

3 . . . quae sic
ut optavit super-
stitibus marito
et liberis *di*em
suum functa est.

VIII 1523.

b1 viximus ad satiem, pietatem implevimus ambo;
praestitimus subolem femineam duplicem.

VIII 11824.

29 vitae pro meritis claros transegimus annos
quos nullo lingua crimine laedit atrox;
discite mortales sine crimine degere vitam;
sic meruit vixit qui sine fraude mori.

VI 29265.

7 cuius votis indulgere dei que
duo pignora matura sensit sui
et quod maxima vota cupiit virg
manibus est sepulta mariti.

VI 18487.

τὴν Διὸς ἀμφίπολόν με Χελειδόνα τὴν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς
σπένδειν ἀθανάτων γρηὺν ἐπισταμένην,
εὔτεκνον, ἀστυνάχητον. ἔχει τάφος· οὐ γὰρ ἀμαυρῶς
δαίμονες ἡμετέρην ἔβλεπον εὐσεβίην.

VI 5254.

Iulia Erotis femina optima his sitast.
nullum dolorem ad inferos mecum tuli;
viro et patrono placui et decessi prior.

VIII 10775.

3 vixit an. LXXV.
suo leto, suis
me*r*itis
mor*tuus est*.

Worthy of quotation in this connection is the Christian inscription,

X 1537. mors quae perpetuo cunctos absorbet hiatu,
parcere dum nescit, saepius inde fabet.
11 quamvis cuncta domus nunquam te flere quiescat
felicem fateor sic meruisse mori.

An epitaph in the Greek anthology is quite parallel to these:

AP VIII 260.

μὴ μέμψῃ παριὼν τὰ μνήματά μου, παροδῖτα·
οὐδὲν ἔχω θρήνων ἄξιον οὐδὲ θανών.
τέκνων τέκνα λέλοιπα· .....

9 *οἵ με κατασπείσαντες ἀπήμονα τὸν γλυκὺν ὕπνον*
κοιμᾶσθαι χώρην πέμψαν ἐπ' εὐσεβέων.

Not infrequently the person dying is spoken of as paying a debt to nature, where perhaps the writer of the epitaph feels a similar resignation:

VIII 7759.

17 . . . que mihi fuit unica n*at*-
a. quot dedit it repetit natura non
*q*uia peccat.

VI 3580.

9 vixit an. XLIX sanctissime
et prope diem
consummationis
primi pili sui debitum
naturae persolvit.

VI 6048.

7 *ὧδε κεῖται οἴκῳ ἐωνίῳ παραλημφθείς*
ὑπὸ θεῶν καταχθονίων.

II 1235.

7 hoc titulo tegor; debita persolvi.

VI 11693.

D. M.
hic sita est Anneia
pia que vixit ann.
VII mensib. VIIII
dieb. VI hor. VIII.
nata id. Aug. debitu
persolvit VII id. Nov.[31]

Another figure taken from the language of military service occurs in

VI 2548.

3 . . . qui mil.
in castr. praet. usque
die qua exemptus est *re-*
bus humanis stipen*d* . . .

Such deviation however from the normal and characteristic point of view, resignation to death under various circumstances, is merely a possible contributory cause to the development of actual *taedium vitae,* and belongs in quite a different category from the sentiment illustrated in the following chapters.

[31] On the other hand the same figure is used of an untimely death: VI 6502. desinite, aequales, Plocami lugere sepulti

fata frequentatis funeris exsequiis.
in requiem excessi; quod quaeritis id repetitum
apstulit iniustus creditor ante diem.

CHAPTER I.

Taedium Vitae Due to Grief.

The first class of inscriptions to illustrate *taedium vitae* contains those called forth by poignant grief for the death of others, those in which the sorrow and loneliness of survivors is so bitter that death seems a desirable issue from their unhappy condition. The sentiment under such circumstances is rather of a temporary and occasional nature than a matter of temperament, since the least subjective disposition will be brought in the bitterness of a great grief to the point of feeling *nulla spes vivendi mihi sine coniuge tali;*[1] yet this class is not without interest and significance.

Conviction or scepticism as to life after death would influence a person's view to some extent upon the desirability of the present life. If someone with a strong belief in a life and reunion with friends after death finds the attractiveness of that life greater than that of the present one, the fact indicates a shift of emphasis rather than *taedium vitae* proper, compared to a similar distaste for life on the part of one who has no such hope. Among Roman pre-Christian inscriptions there are several that express a hope of reunion so strong that the author longs for death:

XI 3771.

16 et solamen erit quod te
iam iamque videbo
cum vita functus iungar tis
umbra figuris.

VI 10226.

9 maeret cara soror
quae fratrem luget
ademptum;
mater[2] habet natum,
Florum lux candida
torquet.

[1] VIII 152. 5.

[2] I agree with Cholodniak, 688, in thinking that the mother and son are dead and Florus the living father; Buecheler, 1119, takes *mater* = *terra*.

VI 11669.

5 . . . Cissus vivit sed quam
*prim*um cupit ad suam amantissumam
*perven*ire . . .
9 *hora ve*nit mortis; vos mihi restitu*et.*

V 5279.

8 aetas properavit, faciendum fuit, noli plangere mater.
mater | rogat quam primum ducatis se ad vos.|

XII 4938.

Lagge fili
bene quiescas.
mater tua rogat
te ut me ad te
recipias. vale.

VIII 9691.

mi fili, mater rogat ut me
at te recipias.

XII 743.

10 o felice patrem qui non vidit tale dolorem;
heret et in fixo pectore vulnus Dionysiadi matri
et iunctam secum Geron pater tenet ipse puellam.

VI 7579.

9 Mevia Sophe, impetra si quae sunt Manes ne
tam scelestum discidium experiscar diutius.

VI 18817.

15 et etiam me fato suadere
vellit ut et ego possim
dulcius et celerius
aput eum pervenire.

VI 19008.

2 . . . ossibus | ossa dedit
coniugi perpetuae, quos | aetas iunxerat olim,
nunc mortis iuncti | iacent qui vixerunt una
annis | continuis . . .

There are many inscriptions which are capable of such interpretation but do not seem to require it; the idea may be simply that of resting together in the tomb; as for example:

III 3241.

6 . . . te nunc amis|so domus inclinata recumbit;
depon(am) | luctus cum te sequar, care, per umbr|as.

VI 22804.

3 quae sibi dolorem iripuit et matri
dedit, nimium properans ad fratrem
Philostercum suom.

B 828.

faciant me quiescere tecum.

X 2496.

12 . . . et nos optamus
ad vos properare parentes.

VI 30115.

suscipe me sociam tumulis, dulciss*ime coniux,*
cum mors est tecum non meruiss*e mori;*
hic mea mens simul est, hic mea *vita sepulta est;*
mortem ferre tuam mors mihi *semper erit.*

VI 20569.

2 his foribus carae
recubant mihi coniugis ossa . . .
expectanque suis ut mea
contribuam.

IX 3337.

9 set mecum
coniux si vivere
nolueras, at Styga
perpetua vel rate
funerea utinam
tecu*m* comitata
fuisse*m*[3].

Simpler expressions of the wish to die rather than to endure separation from the one who has died,—more nearly true *taedium vitae,*—are found very frequently, as for example:

[3] For opposing views on the evidence of inscriptions for the convictions of the Romans about life after death see Harkness, *Scepticism and Fatalism among the Common People of Rome,* TAPA XXX, 56 ff., and van Bleek, *Quae de hominum post mortem condicione doceant carmina sepulcralia latina,* introduction.

XIII 2205.

6 . . . longus amor perit. direp-
ta morte recept*a* utinam nos
fatus texisset utrosque.

II 4427.

2 Manes si saperent miseram me
abducerent; coniugem vivere
iam quo me lucem iam nolo videre.

B 424.

6 . . . coniunx misera finem deposco dolori.

VIII 1542.

7 . . . quae quod proba *er-*
at etiam in suppremi*s*
meruit de deis ut mox
*p*ost maritum quem
solum norat vita ex-
cederet.

VI 24520.

15 si sunt Di Manes iam nati numen habetis;
per vos cu*r* *v*oti non venit hora mei?

VI 28810.

3 et volui maiora nimis, sed cura meorum
fida tuei prohibet me cinerem esse rogi.

VI 19055.

1 hoc iacet in tumulo secura Glyconis honesto,
9 digna quidem frui perpetua de luce benigna,
set celerat quo nos fata benigna[4] vocant.[5]

[4] Editors (Buecheler 495, Cholodniak 967) try to change *benigna* of l.10 to *maligna, sinistra, severa,* to give a meaning the opposite of what is written, and the word *benigna,* occurring also just above would throw some suspicion on the reading of l. 10. But if the husband in the inscription wished to die, the fates that would grant his wish would be *benigna;* the necessity of ascribing his use of the word to imitation of Juvenal XVI 4, or to affectation of philosophy, two possibilities suggested by B, is not apparent. Harkness defends the reading as it stands, TAPA XXX, 76.

[5] Also IX 3488 (broken); perhaps also
VI 12649. cuius pater natus miser desiderio natae diem et noctem cum
lacrimis traxit vitam malam.

and III 8135.

mariti qui caruit vi|ta quom caret hac a|nima.

Cf. a Christian inscription, B 1402.

3 hic iacet extinctus crudeli funere natus,
ultima vivendi quae mihi causa fuit.

The idea suggested by this inscription, that it is to the living that death is an evil rather than to the dead, is often expressed, and the painlessness and quiet of the dead are contrasted with the unhappy state of the grieving survivor, as in the following: VI 29642.

dulcis aput Manes Zoe
benedicta moraris; tu secura iaces,
nobis reliquisti querelas . . .

IX 2780.

5 . . . tu secura iaces, ego
sollicitus . . .

VI 17050.

11 . . . me nunc torquet
amor; tibi tristis cura
recessit Letihaeoque
iaces condita sarcophago.

XI 1209.

7 namque mori levior poena est quam quaerere mo*rtem*

VI 25427.

5 hic situs est annis plenus vitaque beatus
et laetus omni morte Rhodanthion.

. . . . . .

13 invita hoc munus coniunx Victoria fecit,
quodque virum vicit aegra dolore fuit.

X 4429.

infelix annosa
viro nataeq.
superstes.

VI 22804.

Myrtale, vixit
annos IX
quae sibi dolorem iripuit et matri
dedit . . .

III 8739.

4 Lutatia Veneria
viro et filio.
8 . . . nec comitem nati me sinit esse mei. o genitor
felix qui nec tua funera vidit . . .

V 5320.

4 vita brevis longo melior morta |libus aevo.
11 poenaque de longo tempore lon-
ga data est. de senio luctus, seni-
um fletu renovatur, utraque
res mortis durior exitio.

III 3397.

5 . . . invida fatorum genesis
mihi sustulit illam, superante genetrice
sua, quae se cupiebat ob illa ante morti dari
quam sibi flebil*is* casus accideret.

IX 4756.

8 miles eram, sum deinde cinis de milite factus.
nec solum hoc, quia me rapuit fatum male fecit;
quod pater et mater plangunt, hoc plus male fecit.[6]

The same note is heard in Lucretius:[7]

'tu quidem ut es leto sopitus, sic eris aevi
quod superest cunctis privatus doloribus aegris.
at nos horrifico cinefactum te prope busto
insatiabiliter deflevimus, aeternumque
nulla dies nobis maerorem e pectore demet.'

A parallel to this thought is found in the Greek Anthology:

AP VII 604.

8 *καὶ σὺ μὲν ἀμπλακίας βιότου καὶ μόχθον Ἐλευθοῦς*
ἔκφυγες, οἱ δὲ γόων πικρὸν ἔχουσι νέφος.

The idea that the only evil in death was the grief of those who survived is quite in accord with Christian feeling, when a better life is postulated for the departed, as in

B 1400. vos equidem nati caelestia regna videtis,
quos rapuit parvos praecipita*ta* dies.
sed mihi quae requies onerosa in luce moranti,
cui solus superest et sine fine dolor.

Quite in the spirit of the pagan epitaphs is

B 1336.

5 non bene pensantur leti dispendia luctu;
plus moritur vivens qui valet esse miser.

[6] Also VI 10226, quoted p. 11, XII 743, quoted p. 12, VI 30113.
[7] III 904–908.

The logical conclusion of such sentiments is a wish for an exchange of condition with the person who is dead; this too is found in several instances on the stones. The following is a dialogue supposed to occur between a husband and his dead wife:

VI 12652.

(the words of Homonoea)

c. 19 nec pro me queror hoc: | morte est mihi tristior | ipsa
maeror Atimeti | coniugis ille mei.

(the words of Atimetus)

a. 1 si pensare animas | sinerent crudelia fata,|
et posset redimi morte | aliena salus,|
quantulacumque meae | debentur tempora vitae |
pensassem pro te, cara | Homonoea, libens.|
at nunc quod possum fugiam | lucemque deosque
ut te | matura per Styga morte sequar.|

Expressed with some uncertainty as to pronouns, there seems to be a similar sentiment on the part of the husband in VI 16753.

8 optans ut ipsa
sibi potius superstes fu-
isset quam se sibi super-
stitem reliquisset.

Possibly the same idea underlies the following:

XIV 2709.

3 hic situs est quondam Gelli pars maxima Phoebus;
adfectus omnis possidet iste lapis.
7 quod si mutari potuissent fila sororum
gauderet condi Maximus hoc tumulo.[8]

The very extensive class of inscriptions in which the mourner utters a wish that the dead might have performed the rites of burial for him instead, is not to be counted among such wishes for exchange of condition. It is but longer life for the other that is desired. This sentiment naturally occurs

[8] Such wishes as those just quoted, in which the mourner prefers to die rather than endure his grief, are to be distinguished from wishes for exchange, when the desire springs from an appreciation of the value of life and a desire to give it to the person dead even at the expense of one's own, as in II 3453 and in the case of Pomptilla (X 7563–7578) who emulates the devotion of Alcestis.

most frequently in cases of the burial of children by their parents.[9]

In this connection one might notice a form of pessimism which appears occasionally, the feeling of parents that it is better not to have had children at all than to suffer the pain of their loss; for example:

VI 10731.

D. M.
disce quisque pius pater es vel
mater que generasti natos;
habere bonu est si non sint
invida fata. . . .

III 2083.

8 vota parens nocuere tibi, qui numina saeva
ut plura eriperent plura dedere bona.

V 2435.

4 exemplis referenda mea est deserta senectus,
ut steriles vere possint gaudere maritae.

III 3196.

5 hec docuit matres miseras | non tollere natos.

B 216.

queri necesse est de puellula dulci.
ne tu fuisses si futura tam grata
brevi reverti unde nobis edita,
nativom esset et parentibus luctu.

II 3475.

4 saeva parentibus eripuit fortuna m*eis* | me
nec iuvenem passast ulteriora frui.
nihl simile aspicias. timeant ventura | parentes,
nec nimium matres | concupiant parere.

Similarly in Greek;

AP VII 261.

τί πλέον εἰς ὠδῖνα πονεῖν, τί δὲ τέκνα τεκέσθαι,
ἢ τέκοι εἰ μέλλει παιδὸς ὁρᾶν θάνατον;

[9] See for example VI 12307, VI 17518, VI 18282 (of a grandchild) VI 22203, VI 22994, VI 26891, VI 27866, IX 374, IX 2616, IX 5407; of a husband or wife, VI 9118, VI 12853. 5, IX 1921.

CHAPTER II.

Death as Rest.

To come now to the inscriptions that have most significance for the subject, there are many that speak of life or death in a way to indicate *taedium vitae* to a certain extent as a settled or temperamental attitude on the part of the writer, rather than to show simply the pressure of strong emotion. The majority of these are written by the relatives or friends of the dead and express their reflections on the death of the departed or upon death in general, or the supposed views of the deceased. There is another class, those on tombs made during life by the person destined to occupy them, as in III 1552.

> hanc sedem longo placuit sacrare labore,
> hanc requiem, fessos tandem qua conderet artus
> Ulpius emeritis longaevi muneris annis.
> ipse suo curam titulo dedit, ipse sepulcri
> arbiter hospitium mem*bris* fatoque paravit.

This is a particularly satisfactory kind of inscription to study, since with the element of strong emotion comparatively lacking one may expect to find more normal views, upon the subject, moreover, of the author's own death. In the case of many such inscriptions in the first person, even when no such fact about the tomb is given or when it is definitely stated that someone else made it, it is possible that the sentiments were suggested by the deceased into whose mouth they are put.

The simplest form of *taedium vitae* views death as a rest. Illustrative of this is the large class of inscriptions in which *quiesco* and its compounds are used for the repose of death. James E. Church, Jr., in his dissertation *Beiträge zur Sprache der lateinischen Grabinschriften,* discussing the formulaic usage of this word,[1] dates its rise from the second quarter of the first century before Christ. Its later development is hard to trace in detail, because so few of the monuments before the Christian era can be dated. He finds that about one-third of the occurrences in verse are neutral or negative in meaning; that in the others rest is felt to be a desirable thing,

[1] Pp. 41–72.

the sense generally made clearer by the use of *bene* or some similar word. In prose the positive meaning is almost without exception the usage.

The earliest inscriptions that illustrate this use of *quiesco* are two from republican times:

I 1489.

vivit vivit
Q. Vaarius C.C.l. Nicepor Peccio Vaaria C.C.l. Paapilla
hic requiescent.

I 1064.

3 T. Attius Ɔ.l. Auctus coniugi
T. Luscius Ɔ.l. Corumbus patr-
onae pro meriteis dant ubei
eorum ossa quiescant.

Both of these are formulaic to some extent, for if it were not a conventional mode of expression, *quiesco* could hardly be used so baldly to express the idea. Moreover one is from Rome, the other from Narbo, where the makers of the tomb were living; therefore, even at so early a date as this the formula was not purely a local one.

The uses of *quiesco* as a formula naturally fall into two classes, those in which the body is said to rest, and those in which the person's conscious or psychic self does so. The former is a more primitive idea, more obvious, and not of necessity directly suggestive of the other. The development of one from the other might perhaps be verbal; *corpus eius quiescit* might easily become without change of thought *is quiescit,* since the man and his body are so closely identified; the second expression once used, the idea of the repose of the individual *ipse* easily follows. Later, when both forms were quite conventional, there was little distinction in their use. Sometimes it is the shade or the Manes that rest, as in Martial X 61. 1,

hic festinata requiescit Erotion umbra,

and in the inscription

VI 9118.

11 Manes placida tibi nocte quiescant.

It does not seem necessary to give examples of the *quiesco* formula at any length, in view of Church's work, but a few typical instances may not be out of place:

VI 14765.

Chrestenis Pontiae ossa heic
requiescunt.

VI 11407.

3 hic mea ferali requiescunt ossa sepulcro.

VI 22711.

4 ossa tibi requiescant | bene.

VIII 7604.

16 H S E O T B Q.[2]

VI 8943.[3]

Valeria Hilaria
nutrix
Octaviae Caesaris Augusti
hic requiescit . . .[4]

VI 22735.

Musa
hic
acquiescit.

VI 20513.

8 hic super ossua
cineresq.
tuos benedicta
quiescis.

XII 4938.

Lagge fili
bene quiescas.

VI 6962.

3 heic bene quiescat.

VI 6015.

L. Marci Hilare
bene adquiescas.

[2] *Hic situs est. ossa tibi bene quiescant.*

[3] Of special interest on account of its historical associations; in l. 3 *Caesaris Augusti* = of Nero.

[4] Cf. Petronius, 71. 12, Buecheler, C. Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus hic requiescit.

VI 6873.

4 *te lapis* obtestor leviter super ossa residas ni dolor
qua requiens[5] homini est.

When a phrase becomes thoroughly stereotyped, however, the meaning generally fades. This has happened to *quiesco* to a marked extent, so that its use has value for *taedium vitae* not because every instance of it conveys any information as to the state of mind of the writer, but because the idea underlying it made so general an appeal to human feeling that it could become conventional. The individual examples often seem to be no more than a variation for *hic iacet, hic situs est.* Several inscriptions in which *quiesco* or a cognate noun form are used in a context to which they are wholly unsuited show how little the original force of the words was present to the mind of the writer. Such are

VIII 16463.

D. M. S.
Primus mihi nomen erat dum vita
manebat.
Regna infra caeli fraedatus luce
quiesco.

IX 1817.

12 nunc ita in aeterna requiesco se*de sepulta*
et finem fati conqueror ipsa mei.

VI 10131.

D. M.
immatura quies quos apstulit hic siti sunt tres,
mater cum parvis pignoribus geminis.

XI 531.

11 fortuna in-
visa est; spes est frustrata parentes; more cuncta
eripuit, dira quies hominum.

VI 6502.

3 in requiem excessi; quod quaeritis, id repetitum
apstulit iniustus creditor ante diem.

The noun form *quies* is sometimes found, generally in the dative, as the dedicatory heading of an inscription, either with or without *D.M.:*

[5] *Requiens = requies.*

VIII 3290.

D.M. et bonae quieti
Aureliae Severae.

VI 13120.

Quieti aeternae.
Aurelius . . .

XII 758.

paci et quiet. a*et*
et memor. aeter*n*.

VI 28947.

quietis
M. Vigelli . . .

XIII 2189.

DiIs Manibus
et quieti aeternae
Iuventiae Felicissimae.[6]

The idea of the rest of the body also underlies the formula *sit tibi terra levis,* which occurs so continually both in prose and verse. An inscription that illustrates this and the former class as well is

VIII 12302. 6

		S
O	ossa quieta precor	T
T	Zopyri requiescant	T
B	in urna et sit hum-	L
Q	us cineri non onerosa.	

The following inscriptions contain a more real feeling of the desirability of rest than most of those just quoted; no specific reason is given, but it is simply assumed that weariness follows naturally from the experience of life:

X 777. T. Cornelius Libanus.
inveni aliquando locum ubi requiescerem.

VI 15495.

Claudia Lyde
lassa hic
requiescit

V 4445.

7 deinde hoc elogium breve:
*diu vivend*o multa vidi incommod*a,*
*apto requievi f*essus aevo tempore.

[6] Cf. VI 24036, XIII 1817, XIII 2180, XIII 2182.

VI 25531.

3 ut saltem recubans in morte quiescere posset
securaque iacens ille quiete frui.

The significant word here is *saltem,* "that *at least* in death he may rest."

VI 2893. Quiet. anima dulcis habe.

VI 33953.

3 fessus in extremis . . .

VI 9632 (=33813).

L. Valerius Zabdae mercatoris venalici ll. Aries
4 monimentum apsolvi impensa mea–amica
tellus ut det hospitium ossibus–quod omnes
rogant sed felices impetrant–nam quid
egregium quidve cupiendum est magis quam
ubi lucem libertatis acceperis lassam senectae
spiritum ibi deponere quod innocentis
signum est maximum![7]

The same feeling underlies the metaphorical use of 'sleep' to designate death. This is common both in literature and on the stones:

B 481.

2 Blaesianus Biturix Musarum semper amator
hic iacet aeterno devinctus membra sopore.

XII 5102.

3 cupidius perpoto in monumento meo
quod dormiendum et permanendum
heic est mihi.

VI 3604.

8 . . . . hic dormit.

For comparison a Christian inscription may be cited;

XII 338.

2 Innodium leti hic sopor altus habet.

With great frequency in Greek epigram the dead are said to sleep;

[7] To this class belongs III 1552, quoted on p. 19.

AP VII 29.

εὕδεις ἐν φθιμένοισιν, Ἀνάκρεον.

AP VII 156.

7 τρὶς δὲ τριηκοστὸν ζήσας ἔτος ἐνθάδ' ἰαύει.

To cite only one of many literary examples the lament of Moschus for Bion touches the same note:[7a]

εὕδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον.

Among the stereotyped forms of dedication at the heading of inscriptions *Somno Aeterno* or *Aeternali* occurs with some frequency, either alone or in conjunction with *Dis Manibus* or some other form.

X 6706. Somno aeterno sacr.
C. Avidio Laconi. . . .

VI 28054.
Somn. aeter.
Q. Valerio . . .[8]

VI 19966.
D. Somno perpetoali. M.
L. Iulius Eucarpus

VI 18378.
D. M. et
Somno aeternali Securitati Memoriae
Q. perpetuae Flaviae. . . .

VI 17430.
D. M.
Somno, sepulcro
aeternali sacrum
Eutychiae.[9]

When death is referred to as 'night,' it is often not clear

[7a] Moschus III 111.
[8] Cf. VI 9077, VI 9280, VI 10468, VI 10848, VI 11082, VI 12123, VI 12450, VI 13241, VI 14418, VI 20446, VI 21934, VI 24517, VI 27923, VI 29338.
[9] Cf. VI 2188, VI 10693, VI 11951, VI 12989, perhaps VI 13042, VI 13073, VI 15983 (Christian), VI 16472, VI 17790, VI 18850, VI 28875, VI 29273a.

under what aspect night is present to the consciousness of the one using the metaphor; perhaps it is so faded a figure in some instances that it is not a definite conception in the mind of the writer. Sometimes it appears to be thought of as dark and full of terror, sometimes as the bringer of rest. Of the latter class, the only one of interest in this connection, a clear example is

VI 9118.

11 . . . et Manes placida tibi nocte quiescant
et super in nido Marathonis cantet aëdon.

It seems to be hardly the same idea that is expressed in

VI 19049.

te mihi, Glycerium, fors abs*tulit* *f*unere duro,
mersit in aeternam extin*cto* *pect*ore noctem.

In Greek epigram νύξ is so used;

AP VII 389.

6 . . . κοινή που νὺξ μία πάντας ἔχει.

Νὺξ μία recalls Catullus, V 6, nox est perpetua una dormienda.

The course of life lends itself easily to comparison to a journey. The natural destination would of course be death, and since, especially among people who travelled little for pleasure, reaching the destination of a journey was a consummation to be desired, the logical consequence of the figure of speech would be to represent death as the end sought during many years of wanderings. The concrete idea of a tomb is probably present in the mind of the writers with more vividness than the abstract one of death.

VIII 5749.

2 Memorie
Clodi Proc-
essi multis
annis na-
vigando
et perigrinan-
do hanc sed*em* pe*t*i
*h*anc quoque
*do*mum aeternam
mihi vius posi et
coniugi.

VIII 79. D. M. S.
Q. Iulius Lu-
canus Medi-
conis filius.
ut hanc in patriam
plenus laetitia
pervenirem, an-
nos LXXX certan-
do vici; iam quietus
ego hic Medico
semper.

Here *patriam* seems to designate the tomb. Again the word is found in

VIII 12103.
3 . . . ter repetens patri-
am casso nunc tu-
mulo dico
functus fati c-
o*actu* vita fe-
lix de luce
recessi.[10]

Similar is the use of the term *portus* 'port' or 'haven' for the same idea. This is not common in Latin inscriptions, but one example is of great interest. To quote in full, it is as follows:

IX 1164.
2 M. Pomponio M.
fil. M. n. M. pron.
M. abn. Cor. Bassulo
IIviro q̄.q̄.
ne more pecoris otio transfungerer,
Menandri paucas vorti scitas fabulas
et ipsus etiam sedulo finxi novas;
id quale qualest chartis ma*n*datum diu.
verum vexatus animi curis anxiis,
non nullis etiam corpo*ris do*loribus,
utrumque ut esset taedio*sum ultra* modum,
optatam mortem sum pot*itus*; *ea* mihi
suo de more cuncta *dat lev*amina.
vos in sepulchro *hoc* elo*gium in*cidite,

[10] V 7127 is so broken that the reading is doubtful but the sentiment is also clearly of this type.

quod sit docimento post q*uaerent*ibus
inmodice ne quis vitae sco*pulis hae*reat,
cum sit paratus portus plac*idus nan*tibus
qui nos excipiat ad quiet*em perpet*em.
set iam valete donec vi*ta suppet*it.

A close study of this epitaph seems to reveal the fact that the subject of it, who is also presumably its author, was a suicide. He was a man of education and culture and of proud lineage—few of the inscriptions that come into this study cite so long a line of ancestors. The sentiment that it is not necessary to cling to the rocks of life is in one form or another one of the commonplaces of Seneca, who also uses the figure of a harbor for death in his *epist. ad Polyb. de cons.* 9. 7, in hoc tam procelloso et in omnes tempestates exposito mari navigantibus nullus portus nisi mortis est. The idea of death as a haven finds frequent expression in Greek epigram, as in

AP VII 452.

Μνήμονες Ἐυβούλοιο σαόφρονος ὧ παριόντες,
πίνωμεν· κοινὸς πᾶσι λιμὴν Ἀίδης.

AP VII 472b.

χειμέριον ζωὴν ὑπαλεύεο, νεῖο δ' ἐς ὅρμον
ὡς κἠγὼ Φείδων ὁ Κρίτου εἰς Ἀίδην.

AP IX 172.

3 . . . *ἤλυθον εἰς λιμένα.*

AP IX 49. *τὸν λιμέν' εὗρον.*

The idea that the dead dwell in the tomb, and the permanence of that dwelling-place, is emphasized by the phrase *domus aeterna,* 'the perpetual home,' by which it is very frequently designated. A good illustration is afforded by

VI 27788.

3 aedis aedificat dives, sapiens
monumentum. hospitium est illud
corporis. hic domus est. illic paulisper
remoramus, ad hic habitamus.

Another example of life as an *hospitium,* 'inn':

V 2411.

3 quid quereris fatis mortis, carissime coniunx,
cum sit communis una via?

4 desine sollicitum pectus lacerare dolore;
temporis hospitium non solet esse diu.

Compare Cicero de Sen. 23. 84, . . . ex vita ita discede tamquam ex hospitio non tamquam ex domo.

In several instances a man builds his own *domus aeterna* or makes it for his family, as in the following:

IX 3409. aeternam ad Ditem vivos effecit domum.

VI 9611. Secundinus mulomedicus
fecit sibi domum eterna.

I 1008.

18 quas ob res hoc monumentum aedificavit *pater* suae gnatae, sibeique uxori hanc constituit *domum* aeternam ubei omnes pariter aevom degere*nt*.

VI 9258.

L. Maecius Marcus refecit
aeterna domu lib. etc.

VI 29956.

Fecit sibi a solo
domum aeternam

II 1222.

Didia T. L. Sal-
via mater
in meo dolore
in hoc sepulchro
viva nomen inscri-
psi meu haec est
domus qum meis.

VI 9752.

3 hae sunt parvae tuae meaeq. sedes,
haec certa est domus, haec colenda nobis,
haec est quem mihi suscitavi vivus.

IX 3895.

2 labore et cura vivos perfeci hanc domum.

X 6053.

5 *et hanc in vi*ta instituit aeternam domum.

VI 18677a.

D. M.
M. Fulvius Lamyrus
hic conditus est. haec
mi domus aeternalis
erit.

Other examples are:

VI 18313.

domus
Flaviae
Chrysidis.

XI 1616.

13 aeternamque domum petimus et fin*em* laborum

I 1059.

6 haec est domus aeterna, hic est
fundus, heis sunt horti, hoc
est monumentum nostrum.

VIII 4447.

D. M. S.
aeterna domus hec est.

B 1339. perpetuas sine fine domos mors incolit atra
aeternosq. levis possidet umbra lares.

VI 17469.

5 . . . domum ha-
nc haeternalem
amantissime
fecerunt.

V 7047.

3 . . . titulum posit
ante aeternam domum.

VI 6048.

7 *ὧδε κεῖται οἴκῳ ἐωνίῳ.*[11]

Domus is sometimes used alone in this sense:

VI 25547.

7 hic erit et nobis
una aliquando domus.

[11] Cf. I 1009. 21, III 9302. 12, VI 7102, VI 12055, VI 13046, VI 28116, VI 28941, VI 29756 (Jewish), VIII 4475, B 434. 15.

VI 33903.

10 . . . hospitium
nobis sufficit ista domus.

VI 34152.

6 haec domus, haec requies, omnibus una manet.

VI 25617.

11 una domus cunctis nec fugienda viris.

This phrase is found also in the dedicatory heading, like *Quieti* and *Somno Aeternali,* as in the following:

VI 10703.

Dom. eter. nal.

VI 11252.

Domui aeternae consecratae.

The expression *domus aeterna* persists and is found occasionally under the Christian dispensation, as in the two following inscriptions:

VIII 10927.

2 haec est aeterna
domus et perpetua
felicitas.

VIII 10930.

5 he est dms éterna.[12]

The term *hospitium* is also used of the grave, emphasizing probably its aspect as all-receiving; but this metaphor has not so much to recommend it, and the examples are comparatively few:

XII 5026.

17 quid properas, | hospes, requies tibi nota parat|ast
hospitium hoc populo | semper ubique patet.

VI 7193a.

6 . . . aeterno perfruor hospitio.

VI 29642.

3 . . . precesti
hospitium dulce parare tuis.

[12] *haec est domus aeterna.*

CHAPTER III.

Death as a Release.

To turn now to those inscriptions that lay stress on the present condition and release from it, rather than on the end, as in those hitherto cited, one finds a considerable range of life-experiences from which the dead are to find relief. It seems natural, when one considers the Roman's attitude towards work, that it should figure largely among the things escaped by death. Horace[1] gives the point of view of the rustic laborer:

> gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
> ter pede terram.

In the Golden Age toil was unknown, according to Ovid,[2]

> ipsa quoque immunis rastroque intacta nec ullis
> saucia vomeribus per se dabat omnia tellus;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> mox etiam fruges tellus inarata ferebat,
> nec renovatus ager gravidus canebat aristis.

An interesting expression of this idea, because it is that of the person actually concerned, is found in

VIII 4447.

> 3 pausum laboris hic est. . . .
> Q. Fonteius Saturninus se vivo fecit et dedicavit,

and XI 1616.

> 13 aeternamque domum petimus et fine*m* laborum.

Other examples are:

IX 2385.

> 2 fessus labore hic
> requiescit honeste.

VIII 4475.

> *h*aec est d*omus aeterna,*
> *so*lacium labo*ris.*

[1] *Carm.* III 18. 15f.
[2] *Metam.* I 101f. and 109f.

XIV 1597.

5 hoc | *tum*ulo Pontiane iaces | *secu*re laborum.

VIII 2401.

C. Aelius Extri | catus hic | situs est,|
3 qui post | *tantum o*|*nus multos* | crebrosq. | labores |
nunc silet | et tacito | contentus sede | quiescit.

Perhaps the same feeling is implied in

VI 11252.

7 . . . resoluta
legibus otio sum perpetuo tradita,

and in

VI 6049.

heic situs sum Lemiso
quem numquam nisi mors
feinivit labore.

Death is the *finis laborum* also in Lucretius, III 943, and in Cicero, *Cat.* IV 4. 7, alter (Caesar) intellegit mortem ab dis immortalibus non esse supplici causa constitutam sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem esse. In the same line of thought is the so-called epitaph of Seneca, III p. 482, ed Haase,

Cura, labor, meritum, sumpti pro munere honores,
ite, alias post hanc sollicitate animas.
me procul a vobis deus evocat; illicet actis
rebus terrenis, hospita terra, vale.

The toil, travel, and worry of a trader's life brings weariness, as is shown in several inscriptions. C. Octavius Agathopus seems to have been a merchant, of whom it is said,

X 2792.

2 ab oriente ad occidente fessus
. . . hic requiescit.

The line is quite in the spirit of Horace, *Sat.* I 4. 29–32,

hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo
vespertina tepet regio, quin per mala praeceps
fertur uti pulvis collectus turbine, ne quid
summa deperdat metuens aut ampliet ut rem.

Another epitaph of the same kind is

IX 60. si non molestum est, hospes, consiste et lege.
navibus velivolis magnum mare saepe cucurri,
accessi terras complures; terminus hicc est,
quem mihi nascenti quondam Parcae cecinere.
hic meas deposui curas omnesque labores,
sidera non timeo hic, nec nimbos nec mare saevom,
nec metuo sumptus ne quaestum vincere possit.[4]

The following couplet containing a similar idea expressed with some variation is found several times in the region of the Po valley. The inscriptions are of a good period, though post-Augustan, since the man to whom V 3415 is inscribed was a VIvir Augustalis.

V 4656.

7 quaerere cessavi nunquam neq.
perdere desi; mors intervenit;
nunc ab utroque vaco.

V 3415.

8 quaerere consuevi semper neque perdere d*esi;*
nunc ab utroque vaco . . .
. . . . hic mea composito requiescunt *ossa sepulchro*
et labor a puero qui mihi semper erat, nunc labor omnis
curaeque moleste. nec scio quit nunc sim nec scio qu*it fuerim.*

V 2986.

4 quaessi semper | *nec* per*dere desi.*

V 6842.

9 dum vixi quaesi;
cessavi perdere *n*umquam;
mors intercessit;
*nu*nc ab utroque vaco.

V 7047.

6 quaerere cessavi numquam
nec perdere desi; mors intervenit;
nunc ab utroque vaco.

The only exception in point of location is one from Rome, which the editor of the CIL calls the work of a *misellus poeta,* based on the model of such verses as V 4656 and V 7047:

[4] Possibly also V 7127, but the inscription is too fragmentary to quote.

VI 30111.

quandius vixi quaesivi
nec cessavi perdere
semper:
mors intervenit quae
facet ut ab utroquae
vacem.

Care is another bugbear that one leaves behind on entering the tomb:

XI 137.

10 . . . nunc recipe me, saxe, libens;
tecum cura solutus ero.

IX 4840.

5 cura relicta, vale.

VI 6821.

3 multiplici cura defessus
nunc securus quiesco.

VI 34152.

4 . . . tempore supremo Faustest tibi cura *soluta.*

IX 4796. liber nunc curis . . .

VI 17050.

11 . . . me nunc torquet
amor; tibi tristis cura
recessit Letihaeoque
iaces condita sarcophago.

III 276. D. M.

Repentina hoc
tumulo requi-
escit ab uma-
nis sollicitu-
dinibus . . .

B 1829. liber et exuctus cura, germane, subisti
infra desertus vita, disiunctus in aevom.
blanda luce cares fugiens tristesque labores,
exceptus tellure patris Plutonis in aula.
rebus sollicitus fueras, dum vita maneret,
adfectus curis miseris necdum memor Orchi.

The following inscription emphasizes the sordidness and poverty of the man's life as well as the worries that accompanied it:

VI 9659.

5 qui negotiando locupletem
se speravit esse futurum.
spe deceptus erat et a mult-
is bene meritus amicis
hanc casulam in parv-
10 o fecit supremi temporis
sedem, maiori cura
quam impensa potuit.
Diis parentibus suis
hunc lapidem posuit
15 supremum semoto loco
suptus quem factum est
ut remanerent ossa
et cineres C. fratris et
sua ube requiescerent
20 et per quem testari posset
quam laboriose et non
secure vixserit . . .

The adjective *securus,* 'free from care,' of the condition of the dead, is of very frequent occurrence:

VI 29642.

dulcis aput Manes Zoe
benedicta moraris, tu secura iaces,
nobis reliquisti querelas . . .

IX 2780.

5 . . . tu secura iaces, ego
sollicitus . . .

XI 627.

16 nihil doleo nec deest, *secura morte quiesco.*

VI 19055.

hoc iacet in tumulo secura Glyconis honesto.

IX 6417.

6 Attica quae fuerat
Cusinii fidissima coniux
condita secura iam
requiescit humo.

VI 16349.

Cornelia
Amethyste
secura.

VI 9719.

Pallantiam Venetian. Parmul. vix. bene, iaceo secur.

VI 21846.

umbrarum secura quies . . . ,

VIII 9105.

3 . . . hic te
fata tua secur*um* iace-
re voluerunt.

VI 33389a.

3 ave bene quisque
sequra.

XIV 3826.

8 hic in flore cubat longum se-
curus in aevom
post ter vicenos et tres bene
consitus annos.

VI 10251a.

5 qui vixit annis LXXXVII. v. v. v.[5]
aliquando securus sum.

VI 19590.

D. M.
have Hygia, anima
dulcissima filiae
securissimae . . .[6]

The adverb *secure* also appears, as in the following examples:

VI 24743.

have te Man*es*
Pontiae Diony*siae*
secure fel*iciter*.

VI 27278.

6 . . . hic ego secure iace*o*
*consump*ta per ignes.

[5] *v.v.v.* = *vixi vitam vexatam*(?), Mommsen, CIL. adn.
[6] Cf. VI 17622, VI 34397a, VIII 682, IX 3279, XI 856.

XIV 1597.

4 hoc | *tum*ulo Pontiane iaces | *secu*re laborum.

The adjective is used substantively for the dead in several inscriptions:

XIV 380.

11 Strato dicit amici hoc at securos.[7]

B 1088.

6 inter securas sine crimine vitae
sit precor, et super h*oc*, sit tibi terra levis.

An interesting expression of the same sentiment is found in the phrase for dying that occurs in

XIV 4276.

21 secura facta est V Idus Oc.
Corellio et Vettoriano cos.
ara dedicata . . . ,

and for death in

VI 26227.

4 . . . fece-
runt sibi post secu-
ri ta te.[8]

Securitas appears very frequently in the dedicatory headings of inscriptions, either alone or in conjunction with one or more of the other words and phrases usual in that position.

VI 22259.

Securitati
Martialis
Danai vicari
fidelissimi.

VI 28047.

Securitati
sacrum.

VI 5164

Securitati | sacrum |
Claudiae C. fil- | Romanae |
vixit Mensibus VII | dies XIII.

[7] Mommsen interprets, CIL. adn., *amici huc ad securos* (*venietis*).
[8] *post securitatem* = *post mortem*.

III 13382.

Domo,[9] Securitati
FL. Cavena . . .

VI 17136.

Securitati
aeternae
A. Egrili Thalli . . .

III 3654.

D. M.
perpetue Securi-
tati . . .

III 5825.

perpetuae Securitati.
C. Iulianus Iulius . . .

III 5960.

D. perpetuae Securitati et Memoriae . . . M.

VI 25607.

Securitati perpetuae
in memoriam
Rupilia Severa.
rara mater famil.
annorum XVII.

VI 24856.

Memoriae et Securitati
perpetuae.

III 5830.

Memoriae et perp-
etuae Securitati, Fla-
bi*o* Acu*t*iano . . .

VI 16061.

Quieti et Securitati
Compses.

VI 22337.

Quieti
Securitati . . .

[9] Apparently a proper name.

XIII 2094.

D. M.
et aeternae Secu-
ritati.
Catiae Severae . . .

VIII 4615.

D. M. S.
perpetuae
Securitati . . .

VI 18378.

D. M. et
Somno aeternali, Securitati, Memoriae,
Q. Perpetuae, Flaviae . . .

XIII 2302.

D. M.
et Memoriae eter*nae*
perpetuae Securitat*i* . . .

The word is found in the same use but in a different position in the following:

VIII 3873.

D. M. S.
P. Magnius Vi-
talis v. a. LXXXXII.
Securitati perpe-
tuae. fili pii fece-
runt.

V 2896. D. M.
Aprilia
Priscilla
viva posuit
Securitati
per*pe*tuae.

VIII 3763.

D. M. S.
Iulia Donata
v. a. XXXV. Securi-
tati eterne ma-
ritus coniugi . . .

The form is modified in the following:

VI 2268.

Dis Securitatis.
Q. Vibius Herma
Antistes.

VI 10217.

Dibus securis
M. Salluvi
Felicissimi.

Death brings grateful relief also from pain and trouble (*dolor, mala, miseriae, poenae*) according to many epitaphs:

IX 3895.

5 mors me adsequeter, tunc mihi demetur dolor.

XI 627.

16 nihil doleo nec deest *secura* mor*te quiesco.*

VI 5254.

Iulia Erotis femina optima hic sitast.
nullum dolorem ad inferos mecum tuli,
viro et patrono placui et decessi prior.

VI 23107. (following Buecheler's restoration, B 143)

4 fatalis anima m*isera te vis obruit*
et multa es perpes*sa in vita exigua mala*
qui recidisti anima *a malis requiem petens.*
nam quid aliud aptuli*sti vitae nisi malum?*

VI 20674.

iam datus est finis vitae iam
paussa malorum.

V 5278. morborum | vitia et vitae | mala maxima | fugi;
nunc careo | poenis, pace | fruor placida.

XI 207.

4 tempera iam genitor lacrimis tuque optima mater
desine iam flere, poenam non sentio mortis:
poena fuit vita, requies mihi morte parata est.

The evils are more specifically mentioned in the following:

VI 7193a.

3 quod superest homini, requiescunt dulciter ossa
nec sum sollicitus ne subito esuriam,
et podagram careo, nec sum pensionibus arra,
et gratis aeterno perfruor hospitio.

An expression of doubt as to this result of death is found in

X 4993.

3 hunc *R*ufum *su*avem amisit lectissima mater
ut vita insontem, sic pietate bonum.
amissum luxit lugebit et usque sepultum
nec nisi *c*um fuerit desinet esse dolor,

and a denial in IX 4810.

7 nil mihi Lethaei profuit a*mnis aqua*
durat et infixus noster dolor a*d Stygis undas*
a fatis rap*tae* coniug*is e thalamo.*

Interesting in this connection are two imprecations:

VI 36467.

5 . . . si quis violave-
rit aut inde exeme-
rit opto ei ut cum
dolore corporis
longo tempore vivat
et cum mortuus fue-
rit inferi eum non
recipiant.

VI 24800.

8 sed tibi invide opto qui
ossucula mea hic sita esse
gemis, morte tardata vivas
aeger inops.

The refinement in the cruelty of these curses is marked, as compared with the earlier thought of the one in Ennius[10] when Thyestes curses Atreus:

Neque sepulchrum, quo recipiat habeat portum corporis,
ubi remissa humana vita corpus requiescat malis.

[10] Ennius Sc. 362 Vahlen, apud Cic. *Tusc.* I 44. 107.

After death there is nothing further to fear:

VIII 16463.

D. M. S.
Primus mihi nomen erat dum vita
manebat.
regna infra caeli fraudatus luce
quiesco;
iam secura quies, nullum iam vitae
periclum.

II 5928.

7 *illa aetas* crede hoc tribuit pro tempore m*ortis*
*ut b*ona non meminit seic mala ne timeat.

The dead are freed from the envy of others:

B 1339.

9 multorum invidiam tandem caruisse memento.

They are released from desire and passion:

VIII 724.

12 . . . quiesco
reddito natu*rae debito, iam desid*ero nihil n*am*
multa nimi*rum mors in*iqu*a vetuit* concupisc*ere.*

XIV 2553.

2 fatales moneo ne quis me lugeat: Orbi
namque Secunda fui, nunc tegor e cinere.
hic ego securis iaceo super omnibus una
Natalis, quia septimus ussit amor.

Something of this idea is contained in the epigram of Asclepiades:

AP XII 46.

οὐκ εἶμ' οὐδ' ἐτέων δύο κεῖκοσι καὶ κοπιῶ ζῶν·
Ὥρωτες, τί κακὸν τοῦτο; τί με φλέγετε;
ἢν γὰρ ἐγώ τι πάθω, τί ποιήσετε; δῆλον, Ἔρωτες,
ὡς τὸ πάρος παίξεσθ' ἄφρονες ἀστραγάλοις.

At death a person passes beyond the power of chance and Fortune, Fortune under the aspect that she presents to a man who would write of her,

VIII 10828.

4 . . . sors | et fortuna im|proba,

and I 1010.

4 fortuna spondet multa
multis: praestat nemini. vive in dies
et horas nam proprium est nihil.

VI 20128.

atrox o Fortuna truci quae funere gaudes
quid mihi tam subito Maximus eripitur?

The inscriptions sometimes take the form of an apostrophe in farewell:

II 4315.

20 con|tegit ossa lapis. bene habet. | Fortuna valebis.

VI 11743.

2 evasi effugi. Spes et Fortuna valete.
nil mihi voviscum est, ludificate alios.

IX 4756.

11 hac luce si excessi. Spes et Fortuna valete
nil amplius in me vobis per secla licebit.
quod fuerat vestrum amisi, quod erat meum hic est.

This particular form of expression seems to be directly borrowed from the Greek; in the Anthology the examples are many and furnish close parallels.

AP IX 49.

Ἐλπὶς καὶ σὺ Τύχη, μέγα χαίρετε· τὸν λιμέν' εὗρον
οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ χύμῖν· παίζετε τοὺς μετ' ἐμέ.

AP VII 420.

Ἐλπίδες ἀνθρώπων, ἐλαφραὶ θεαί ...
9 *. . . αἱ μετ' Ἐρώτων*
χαίρετε, κουφόταται δαίμονες ἀθανάτων.

AP IX 134.

Ἐλπὶς καὶ σὺ Τύχη, μέγα χαίρετε · τὴν ὁδὸν εὗρον.
οὐκέτι γὰρ σφετέροις ἐπιτέρπομαι. . . .

AP IX 172.

Ἐλπίδος οὐδὲ Τύχης ἔτι μοι μέλει, οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω
λοιπὸν τῆς Ἀπάτης· ἤλυθον εἰς λιμένα.

In the same line of thought is a passage in Statius, *Silv.* II 1. 220:

ast hic quem gemimus, felix hominesque deosque
et dubios casus et caecae lubrica vitae
effugit, immunis fatis.

It is a Stoic teaching, and a favorite saying with Seneca, that death is always a possible escape from bondage, as in *Ep. Mor.* VIII. 1 (70) 16, scalpello aperitur ad illam magnam libertatem via et puncto securitas constat. The following inscriptions, however, seem to require a literal interpretation:

X 4917.

5 debita libertas iuveni mihi lege | negata |
morte immatura reddita perpetua est.

B 1331.

3 infans dulcis eras, sed | tempore parvo. |
mors vitam vicit, | ne libertatem teneres. |
hein non dolor est ut | quem amas pereat? |
nunc mors perpetua liber|tatem dedit.

One inscription contains the idea of the body as a *castellum*, 'sentinel tower' perhaps, from which the soul escapes at death:

X 3969.

2 qui cum dum haberet clausam in castello ani*mu*-
lam mortalem . . . [12]

Finally, death offers a release from the sufferings, losses, humiliations and weariness of old age, a condition which a Christian inscription calls *senium et fessae taedia vitae.*[13] Old age is often called *fessa,* by a natural transition of the adjective to an active meaning, as *sollicitas* in Horace, *Sat.* II 6. 78 f.

. . . si quis nam laudat Arelli
sollicitas ignarus opes . . .

Defessa aetas in the inscription

B 518.

5 . . . defessa par*entibus* aetas

is equivalent to the expression used in

III 3351.

7 . . . quae magis
debuerat fes*sos*
sepelire par*entes*

[12] On paleographical grounds H. Nissen, *Hermes* I 151, would date this inscription at the close of the Republic.
[13] B 1430.

In Tacitus *fessa aetas* is not uncommon for old age, as in *Ann.* I 46. 3. an Augustum fessa aetate totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse, and *Hist.* III 67, erat illi (Vitellio) et fessa aetate parens.[14]

Interesting in its implications is

XIV 636.

18 gaudebat ubique nec senib.
similis mortem cupiebat
obire set timuit mortem
nec se mori posse putebat.

Other more direct expressions of the thought are

VI 21846.

11 an felix aegrae potius subducta senectae?
sic Hecubā flevit Penthesilea minus,[15]

And of an old woman and a young child commemorated on the same tomb,

VI 28047.

Securitati sacr.
4 dispar damna lege Parkarum et stamina dispar
haec ridenda mihi est, hic lacrimandus erit;
haec namque emeritos bis XXXX per annos
vixit, ad hic tertio consule natus obit.
cur modo tam praeceps iterum tam sera fuisti
funeris amborum, dic, rea Persephone.
10 vix lucem vidisse satis qui vivere posset
vivere quae nollet vix potuisse mori.

V 2931.

7 hac ego bis denos nondum | matura per annos |
condor humo multis nota | Toreuma iocis |
exiguo vitae spatio feliciter | acto |
effugi crimen, longa senecta, | tuum.

Similar to this is

AP VII 574.

11 *ἔμπης ὄλβιος οὗτος ὃς ἐν νεότητι μαρανθείς*
ἔκφυγε τὴν βιότου θᾶσσον ἀλιτροσύνην.

[14] Cf. *Ann.* III 59. 6, XIV 33. 3, XV 38. 5, XVI 13. 4, and *Hist.* I 12.
[15] This recalls Cicero *Tusc.* I 39. 93, . . . non male ait Callimachus *multo saepius lacrimasse Priamum quam Troilum.*

In conclusion may be cited a few examples of general pessimism about human life, which do not seem to come directly under any of the several classes treated.

V 4654.

5 ulterius nihil est
morte neque utilius.

VIII 11665.

vita bonum est
et vita malum;
mors
neutrum habet ho*rum*:
*per*spice si sapias
*q*uid magis expedia*t*.

X 2311.

12 . . . quaesso paucis cognoscere casus
*quo*s tulerim dubios et quam sit dura cupido
*ulter*ius nascentem aliquem procedere hora.

V 7917.

5 o miseros homines: vivunt qui vivere nolunt,
vivere qui debent, fato moriuntur acerbo.

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